

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is arranged according to the need of the research. The literature review will elaborate Jakarta's gubernatorial election, Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok), organizations, inter-faith relations in Indonesia, Sino Indonesian, discourse, Systemic Functional Linguistics, Appraisal Theory, three newspaper profiles, and the theoretical framework of the research.

2.1 Jakarta's Gubernatorial Election

Jakarta's gubernatorial election 2017 were divided into two rounds: February 15th 2017 and April 19th 2017. Running for the first round of Jakarta's gubernatorial election were three pairs of candidates: Anies Baswedan (former Minister of Education and Culture in Jokowi's administration) - Sandiaga Uno (a distant relative of Fauzi Bowo), Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono (son of former president Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono / SBY) - Sylviana Murni (former Deputy Governor for Tourism and Culture DKI Jakarta), and Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (incumbent Governor of Jakarta) - Djarot Saiful Hidayat (incumbent Vice Governor of Jakarta). Anies-Sandi were supported by *Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* (PKS) and Gerindra. Agus-Sylvi were supported by *Partai Demokrat* (PD), *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (PPP), *Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* (PKB), and *Partai Amanat Nasional* (PAN). Ahok-Djarot were supported by *Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan* (PDIP), *Hati Nurani Rakyat* (Hanura), *Golongan Karya* (Golkar), and *Nasional Demokrat* (Nasdem). The composition of the parties can arguably be seen

as a reflection of patronage-based system where the candidates represent the camps (Leiliyanti, 2016) of three prominent figures in Indonesia's politics: Megawati's camp (Ahok-Djarot), Prabowo's camp (Anies-Sandi), and SBY's camp (Agus-Sylvi).

The result of the vote showed that Ahok-Djarot came to the first rank with 42,99%, Anies-Sandi took the second rank with 39,95%, and Agus-Sylvi remained on the third rank with 17,02% (Fardiansyah, 2017). Based on the result, the election must go to the second round since there was not any candidate who gained 50% of the vote. Agus-Sylvi's volunteer group's chief stated that their volunteers will support Anies-Sandi for the second round of election (Wisnu & Paskalis, 2017). The second round revealed the winner of the political contestation with Anies-Sandi securing 57,96% of the vote and Ahok-Djarot lost with 42,04% of the vote (Nailufar, 2017).

2.2 Basuki Tjahaja Purnama (Ahok)

Ahok's journey in politics began in 2004 when he was elected as members of Regional People Representative Assembly (DPRD) East Belitung Regency from 2004 to 2009 period under the New Indonesian Association Party (PPIB). He was then elected as a regent of East Belitung for the period 2005 - 2010. However, on December 11th 2006, he resigned to run in 2007's Bangka Belitung governor election. His position as regent was replaced by his deputy, Khairul Effendi since December 22, 2006. On the gubernatorial election of Bangka Belitung, Ahok was defeated by Eko Maulana Ali. He turned to Golongan Karya Party and was elected

as members of Indonesian Republic House of Representatives (DPR RI) for the period of 2009 - 2014.

However, in 2012, he resigned from his position both as member of Parliament and *Golkar* Party's cadre. He then advanced to the 2012 Jakarta gubernatorial election through coalition with *Gerindra* party as a vice governor candidate to the former mayor of Solo, Joko Widodo, who was backed by PDIP ("Perjalanan Politik Ahok", 2014). He and his running mate, Jokowi, won the 2012 Jakarta's gubernatorial election, defeating three other pairs of prominent challengers: Fauzi Bowo - Nahcrowi Ramli, Hidayat Nur Wahid - Didik J. Rachbini, Alex Noerdin - Nono Sampono. Shortly after the gubernatorial race, his partner, Jokowi, joined the presidential election with Jusuf Kalla and won for the period 2014 - 2019. Therefore, Ahok was officially inaugurated as governor of Jakarta by Jokowi in November 2014 and ran the government with Djarot Saiful Hidayat, his partner for re-election in 2017.

2.3 Islamic Defenders Front (FPI)

Islamic Defenders Front (FPI) is a vigilante (Wilson, 2014), radical Islamic (Jahroni, 2004) group established in 1998 subsidized initially by military and police led by Rizieq Shihab. FPI's mission is to enforce *amar ma'ruf nahi mungkar* (command the good and forbid the bad) and urge the implementation of Islamic sharia law in Indonesia. The mission is manifested through various actions (more than often violent) against what they consider as iniquities, such as closing food stalls which were open in the middle of the day in Ramadhan, destroying places the

organization considered as brothels, organizing raids on nightclubs, as well as attacking churches and Ahmadiyah properties (RRT, 2009).

2.4 *Aksi Bela Islam* and Organizations Involved

Various organizations ranging from FPI, MUI, FUI, GNPf-MUI, NU, and Muhammadiyah were involved in *Aksi Bela Islam*. FPI-Ahok tension has developed since 2014. FPI has refused the inauguration of Ahok as Jakarta's governor in 2014 manifested in a demonstration with four polices wounded ("FPI Demo", 2016). FPI later appointed and inaugurated their own counter governor, Fachrurozi Ishaq, after holding Jakarta's People Forum (Musyawarah Masyarakat Jakarta) on November 19th 2014. After the incident, Ahok harshly criticized FPI and declared that he wanted to disband FPI due to its frequent violent actions. The recommendation letters of FPI's dissolution was sent to the Minister of Home Affairs (*Kementerian Dalam Negeri*) and the Minister of Law and Human Rights (*Kementerian Hukum dan HAM*). However, Ahok's step to disband FPI received criticism from state's constitutional law analyst, Refly Harun. He was concerned that it will trigger similar efforts to silence organizations voicing criticism to the government ("Ingin Bubarkan FPI", 2014).

Meanwhile, MUI, as an organization whose duty was to provide advises for the government on Muslim affairs and create liaison with Muslim community (Woodward et al., 2012), published its religious stance about Al-Maidah declaring that Al-Maidah 51 explicitly forbids Muslims from choosing Jews and Christians as a leader and that stating the content of the verse as a lie is haram and is a

blasphemy towards Alquran (Ruqoyyah & Simbolon, 2016). Ma'ruf Amin explained that Ahok's statement contains blasphemy. He added that it is only ulamas who can explain the verse, therefore Ahok's statement is insulting ulama and Muslims (Riana, 2017). It should also be noted that ulamas' opinions regarding the content of the verse are also fragmented from one another.

Although fatwas made by MUI are advisory and MUI does not have authority to enforce them to public, several organizations justify the fatwas as the reason to hold rallies, such as FPI, GNPf-MUI and FUI. GNPf-MUI (no specific date of establishment) is a situational organization formed after MUI released its fatwa. It should also be noted that Ma'ruf firmly denied the affiliation between MUI and GNPf-MUI (Riana, 2017). The four series of the rallies were led by Rizieq Shihab from FPI, but the fifth series (313) was led by Muhammad Al-Khatthath, general secretary of FUI (Islamic Ummat Forum). Although representatives from both NU and Muhammadiyah had urged its followers not to demonstrate, it still cannot be the basis of justification that their followers had not joined the rallies.

2.5 Inter-faith Relation in Indonesia

Indonesia is a diverse country whose citizens hold various kind of faiths. Under the constitution, Indonesia recognizes six religions: Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism (in Reform era). Several amounts of Indonesians are also followers of traditional indigenous beliefs. Although Indonesia has been recognized as a plural country, it is also prone to religious conflicts. Rogers (2014) reported that there have been numerous conflicts

such as attack on Ahmadis (followers of Ahmadiyah) in Cikeusik in 2011, force closing of 17 churches in Aceh in 2012, attack on Shi'a community in Sampang in 2012, low-intensity bomb attack at a Buddhist temple in Jakarta in 2013.

Christian – Muslim relations in Indonesia has also faced dissensions since 1990s. In November and December 1992, several Christian churches and homes on Java were attacked by Muslims as a response of the increasing proselytizing of what Mallet (cited in Lim, 2008) called Christian fundamentalist. In November 1995, youths of Christian in East Timor attacked Muslim properties due to reports of insult towards Catholic faith from an official. Another conflict erupted in Maluku (from Ambon to Seram and Saparua) in 1999 to 2000 with both Christians and Muslims attacking each other, resulting more than a hundred reported as seriously injured. The atrocities within the conflict is frightening, with victims mutilated in a brutal manner causing loss of limbs, heads, or other parts of the body for proclaiming their faith (Lim, 2008).

Although Muslims make up as the majority in Indonesia, there are differences of views concerning Islam. Muhammadiyah, Islamic organization founded in 1912 known as reformist, upholds the idea of purifying Islam from local religious practices. Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) founded in 1926 known as traditionalist, is not opposed to local religious practices (Majiburrahman, 1971).

2.6 Islam, Islamic, Muslim, Islamism, Islamist

Islam and Islamic refer to the religion and the culture following it. Muslim refers to a follower of Islam and at the same times identifies with the culture. Meanwhile,

Islamism and Islamist relate to the religious movement of “political Islam” (Demant, 1951, p.xxii). In Platzdasch’s (2009) lens, Islamism has an agenda for the state to enforce sharia law and uphold Islamic principles. It is further explained that several Islamists propose the restoration of caliphate in a state.

The notion that the state has an obligation to apply Islamic law derived from classic Sunni political theory which contends that the main task of a government was to establish Islamic law. Otherwise, the state would commit sin against Muslim and risk people’s salvation in the afterlife. The effort to insert sharia value to the state can also be seen from the Jakarta Charter, showing different opinions between Islamists camp and secular-nationalist camp (Platzdasch, p. 109) resulting to an elimination of the phrase “with the obligation to implementing Islamic sharia”.

Political Islam, however, could not seek its way to implementing sharia under New Order regime. The authoritarian regime, who promoted *Pancaasila* as the only ideology suitable for Indonesia, tried to exploit an image of both leftist ideology as well as political Islam as threatening national unity. The regime propagated Islamic governance as disruptive and unsuitable for Indonesia (Platzdasch, p. 116).

2.7 Sino Indonesian

Throughout the discourse of nationality, Sino Indonesian has been perceived as a separate group from native Indonesians, or what generally described as *‘pribumi’*. However, the term itself is rather problematic, reckoning that Indonesia is a diverse country of various ethnic groups (Urban, 2013). Nonetheless, Batakese, Ambonese, Javanese, and other ethnic groups spread through provinces in

Indonesia have been categorized as 'native' whereas Sino-Indonesians are positioned as 'newcomers' (Hoon cited in Urban, 2013).

Sino Indonesian constitutes two to three percent out of total population in Indonesia (Hoon, 2006). In the context of media discourse, they are often portrayed as dominating Indonesia's wealth, e.g. through mentioning an extremely wealthy tycoons. However, Paris (cited in Turner, 2003) asserts that the majority of Sino Indonesians are not wealthy. In alignment with Paris, Dananjaya (cited in Turner, 2003) adds that thousands of Sino-Indonesian in the outskirts of Jakarta such as Tangerang, part of West Jakarta, Sawangan, and Cilincing live in poverty.

The sentiment of Sino Indonesians' economic domination, particularly in New Order era, which eventually became one of the triggering factors behind 1998's riots, came to surface due to the rise of Sino-Indonesian tycoons. Several of them (such as Eka Tjipta Wijaya, Liem Sioe Liong, and Mochtar Riady) had close relation with President Suharto, political elites, and army, thus granting them easier access to wealth. Out of 25 top conglomerates in 1994, four figures are from '*pribumi*' whereas the rest were dominated by Sino-Indonesian tycoons (Turner, 2003).

Despite the close relations of Sino Indonesian tycoons to President Suharto, the New Order regime has executed laws restricting Chinese ethnic, cultural, and religious identities such as prohibition of Chinese media, organizations, language in school, as well as celebration of Lunar New Year. The regime further propagated

sentiment over Sino-Indonesian by creating a stigma that Sino-Indonesians are China-oriented, henceforth communist (Hoon, 2006).

After the downfall of Suharto's regime, Sino Indonesians have redefined their identities. Within the era of Abdurrahman Wahid (Gus Dur)'s presidency, Chinese New Year was given permission to be celebrated, publication of Chinese newspapers was allowed, Mandarin language was allowed in school. In 2003, Megawati Soekarnoputri agreed to make Chinese New Year as a state holiday. In the context of political representation, Sino Indonesians have also gained more spots in national political parties (Turner, 2003).

2.8 Discourse

Van Dijk (1998, p. 192) argues that "discourse is often embedded in or otherwise related to such non-verbal interactions". Marxist theory describes it as the process in which the dominant ideas in a given society reflect the interest of a ruling economic class (Stoddart, 2007). Meanwhile, Foucault (cited in Purvis & Hunt, 1993) describes that discourse is "the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power to be seized".

Weedon (cited in Pitsoe & Letseka, 2012) asserts that discourses, in Foucault's work, are ways of constituting knowledge, together with the social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations. Pitsoe and Letseka further note that for Foucault, discourses are about what can be said or thought, but also about who can speak, when, and with authority. The production of discourse in Foucault's lens (cited in Young, 1981, p.52) "is at once controlled, selected, organized, and

redistributed by a certain number of procedures”. Discourse transmits and produces power, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it (Pitsoe & Letseka). Departing from this basis, discourses in *Aksi Bela Islam* through the lens of mass media can be perceived as the manifestation of Foucault’s concept in which they embody different powers contesting one another.

2.9 Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL)

Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a concept postulated by M.A.K. Halliday. According to his concept, there are three primary functions of language: the textual, the interpersonal, and the ideational metafunction. In the textual metafunction, clause is seen as “a message, a quantum of information”. In interpersonal metafunction, clause is seen as an exchange between speaker and listener. Meanwhile, in ideational metafunction, clause is seen as “a representation of some process in human’s experience” (Ingold, 2014). Bavali and Sadighi (2008) explain that the ideational meta-function is scrutinized in terms of transitivity system. In the transitivity system, the process type is divided into six categories: material (physical actions in the real world), mental (inner experience such as perception, cognition, and affection), relational (state of being), behavioral (a combination of material and mental process), verbal (representing how thoughts are conveyed by sayers through language), and existential (phenomena recognized as to be or to exist). In analyzing the news articles, the writer will focus on the ideational metafunction, and closely examine the process types of the transitivity system.

Halliday (cited in Ansary & Babaii, n.d.) contends that SFL enables researchers to analyze text and relate its context in discourse. Moreover, researchers can also relate the background of the text such as who the text is written for and what angle the text takes on the matter discussed. Ansary & Babaii (n.d) further argue that SFL, as an approach, takes a contextual explanation to another level in a way that differences existed within texts are the reflection of different ideology. Thompson (cited in Ingold, 2014) also notes that Hallidayian's transitivity system is considerably one the most effective ways of examining ideological propositions being informed and constructed by the texts. On the other hand, SFL inevitably possess weakness in terms of grammaticality. Bavali and Sadighi (2008) argue that SFL cannot forbid cliticizations as well as provide reasons to the ungrammaticality occurred in a text.

2.9.1 Genre Analysis

Generally speaking, genre is related to the categorization of texts in the field of literature, arts, media, and etc. Scholars in the field of Systemic Functional Linguistics such as Martin and Rose (cited in Sayfour, 2010) define genre as "a staged, goal-oriented social process". Genre is distinguished by its social purposes, which provides meaning to social activities performed by participants in the text. In order to explain how people pursue their goals, stages are crucial to show how the text is organized through its structure (Imtihani, 2010).

2.10 Appraisal Theory

Appraisal theory postulated by James R. Martin, Peter White, Rick Iedema, and Joan Rothery is a development of previous study on interpersonal meaning in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) by M.A.K. Halliday (Wang cited in Wey, Wherrity, and Zhang, 2015). Martin, White, Iedema, and Rothery contend that it is essential to shift focus from grammar to lexis and developed systemic lexico-grammatical framework.

White (cited in Wey, Wherrity, and Zhang, 2015) asserts that appraisal theory is an approach to explore, describe, and explain the way language is used to adopt stances, evaluate, and construct interpersonal relationships. It is composed of three subsystems: attitude (comprised of affect, judgment, and appreciation), engagement (comprised of monogloss and heterogloss), and graduation (comprised of force and focus). Martin (2002) elaborates that appraisal theory has been applied to analyze phenomenon in various fields such as history, narrative and literary criticism, news stories, as well as casual conversation.

In this study, the writer will focus on judgment aspect as part of attitude in appraisal theory. Judgment is employed to assess human behavior and / or character in reference to ethics and other social norms (White, 2015). It can be identified through the use of adverbs, nominalizations, and verbs.

Khoo, Nourbakhsh, and Na (2012) elaborate that judgment is further divided into two categories, namely social esteem and social sanction. Social esteem is constituted of normality (evaluating how normal someone behaves), capacity

(evaluating someone's capability), and tenacity (evaluating how tenacious or dependable someone is). Meanwhile, social sanction is constituted of veracity (evaluating someone's honesty) and propriety (evaluating someone's moral behavior).

In this study, judgment aspect as part of attitude in Appraisal Theory is employed to analyze how the journalists from The Guardian, The New York Times, and The Wall Street Journal appraise the behaviors of figures in *Aksi Bela Islam*, mainly protesters and Ahok.

2.11 The Guardian

Since the analysis of this media is scarce, the researcher will try to explain the media from its company's profile. Originally named Manchester Guardian until 1959, The Guardian is a British daily newspaper founded by John Edward Taylor in 1821. It gained an international reputation under the editorship of CP Scott who later bought the paper in 1907. The Guardian is a part of the Guardian Media Group currently owned by The Scott Trust Limited, a company whose one of its purposes is to secure the independence of The Guardian as a newspaper without party affiliation, remaining faithful to its liberal tradition. The Guardian network of websites was launched in January 1999, became *theguardian.co.uk* in 2008 and *theguardian.com* in 2013 ("The Scott Trust", 2015). The printed edition had an average daily circulation of 161,091 copies as of December 2016. Meanwhile, Sweeney (2014) stated that the online edition was the world's second most popular

English-language newspaper with 42.6 million worldwide visitors in September 2014.

2.12 The Wall Street Journal

Similar to The Guardian, the scarcity of analysis towards this newspaper becomes the reason the researcher will only explain its company profile. The Wall Street Journal is an American daily newspaper based in New York City. It was founded by Charles H. Dow of Dow Jones & Company formerly to cover business and financial news. The first issue of the newspaper was published in 1889. The online edition was launched in 2013. The newspaper had 2.4 million copies circulation as of March 2013, including 900,000 digital subscribers (Plambeck, 2010).

2.13 The New York Times

The New York Times (initially named the New-York Daily Times) is an American daily newspaper founded by Henry Jarvis Raymond and George Jones in 1851. It has been owned by The Ochs-Sulzberger family since 1896. In 2016, the paper named Arthur Gregg Sulzberger as deputy publisher. The nytimes.com website was launched in 1996. In 2013, the print edition average circulation was approximately 571,500 for weekday and 1,085,700 for Sunday as of December 2016. Globally, nytimes.com had approximately 122 million visitors per monthly average in 2016 (The New York Times Company, 2014).

A study by Haryama & Pahlawan (n.d) on news about the conflict between Israel and Palestine in The New York Times contends that the media's method of

forming public opinion towards Middle East is through framing USA as ‘peace keepers’ and Middle Eastern nations as ‘terrorist’. However, on the case of Charlie Hebdo in Paris, Gunawan (2015) asserts that New York Times is reluctant to publishing Prophet Muhammad’s cartoon due to two reasons. Firstly, it is because the media’s readers also comprised of Muslims. Secondly, for security reason as it wants to avoid the same attack to its staffs.

2.14 Theoretical Framework

